# RRR

# ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT

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## The "Watershed" Election

### by Murray N. Rothbard

The media call this a "watershed" election, the election of "change," and it is, although not quite in the way they are celebrating. It was an election driven by the Respectable Media which, over a year ago, anointed Clinton as our savior and managed to engineer his election. The media's final burst of "unbias" came on Election Day when various anchorpeople urged the public: "Please, if you want change, go out and vote!" (For guess who?) Faking reality, carefully selecting photographs and sound bites, the media contrived at all times to make Clinton look good and Bush look bad. Throwing away any vestige of objectivity, they worked diligently and even frantically at their adopted task. To which circle of Hell should the duplicitous media be consigned?

Indeed, the entire managerial/technocratic/intellectual/cultural elite weighed in to insure the election of Clinton, doing so as if there were no tomorrow and their lives depended on it.

Not only did the usual hundred or so economists bestow their dubious blessings on Clintonomics, not only did business executives support the Democrats as never before, but so did dozens of eminent college presidents, they who are usually so careful to be bland and not to aggravate powerful alumni donors. Apparently, the cause was vital enough for even college presidents to come out of the left-liberal closet. And not to be overlooked are the significant early anointment of Clinton by the powerful AIPAC (American Israel Political Action Committee) and by the Rockefeller World Empire (see below).

Particularly wrought by this election were two significant political deaths: that of the modern conservative movement, and of the Libertarian Party.

**To which circle of Hell should the duplicitous media be consigned?**

### The Conservative Movement, 1955-1992, RIP

The modern conservative movement was born in 1955 with the founding of *National Review*. It reached its first peak, followed by a rout, with the Goldwater campaign of 1964, it then grew more

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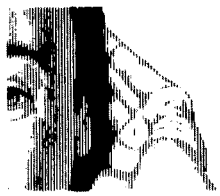

## THE EAR

### by Sarah Barton

The beloved Martin Luther King, Jr., was a satyr of prodigious proportions. One incident, tape recorded by the FBI and privately related by a U.S. Senator, seems to sum up this promiscuous commie: A mother, distraught over the conduct of her very young daughter—drinking, staying out late, doing poorly in school, etc.—calls up King and asks his help. "Why, send her right up," says King. When the young girl arrives, King asks her to go to bed with him,

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which she does. Three hours later, the worried mother calls up, and King proceeds to tell her that they have prayed together, that they have been to the mountain top, that Jesus has forgiven her, and that the girl will sin no more. When he gets off the phone, his shocked young bed partner asked how he as a Christian minister could lie like that. "Honey," answered the Rev., "my only religion is (female genitalia)."

* * * * *

I've reported that neocon Abe Rosenthal of the *New York Times* was married to a woman always described by *Spy* magazine as the "bosomy dirty book writer Shirley Lord." Now *Spy* informs us that one of the architects of the neoconization of the *Wall Street Journal*, executive editor Norman Pearlstine, is married to "sex-guide" authoress Nancy Friday. She dresses, by the way, juding by the photo in *Spy*, like a space alien.

* * * * *

Before Election Day, when the Libertarian Party had high hopes, the knives were already out among the factions warring for future control of the Party. Andre Marrou, living off his umpteenth girl friend, was looking forward to another profitable run in '96: but how to make a living until then? The plan was to take control of the Party machinery at its next convention, replacing national chair Mary Gingell with Marrou buddy Steve Givot, who ran the Marrou campaign and supplied Andre with a home in Illinois when he was in between girl friends. Then Givot would push through a new paid position as "national spokesman" for the Party, with Andre in the post.

In the meantime, other forces were looking for another presidential candidate in '96. There was already talk of setting up the machinery for a presidential run by 1992 Veep candidate Nancy Lord, a believer in the welfare state and in anti-discrimination laws. A Lord race would complete the sellout of libertarian principle to the Left. On the other hand, the Gingell-Evers-Walter Old Guard were rumored to be backing a presidential race by Walter's old Philadelphia buddy, Don Ernsberger, whose voice could be heard reading off the election returns on the LP's 900 number, and bringing out the facts v-e-r-y-s-l-o-w-l-y to bring more shekels into the Party.

**Once abandon Christianity, and who knows what nutty "religions" will rush to fill the vacuum.**

Of course with the spectacular failure of only 280,000 votes across the country for Marrou, the LP has become a virtual corpse, and battles over the '96 nomination have become academic.

* * * * *

John Gray, charming and gossipy Oxford political theorist, has been a severe skeptic about liberty, about truth, about Christianity, about practically everything. But John has finally found a home for belief. In a recent TLS, he embraces Gaia, the Earth Goddess, hailing Mr. Lovelock, the discoverer/inventor of Gaia, as one of the greatest minds of the twentieth century. Fascinating where skeptics choose to roost. Once abandon Christianity, and who knows what nutty "religions" will rush to fill the vacuum.

* * * * *

Ever since Election Day, every sellout think-tank in the country has been cranking out an "Agenda for the Next Four Years," which they are gently pressing on The President-Elect. Well, Plank One on *our* agenda comes from the libertarian Paul Krassner, who, on the *morning after* Election Day, offered this on Pacifica Radio in Berkeley: "You heard it here first: Impeach Clinton!" Hooray! And thanks, Paul.

* * * * *

A friend of mine says of our First Family: "I hate that adulterous s.o.b., and I can't stand his commie wife, his doper brother, or his murdering mother either. Even his kid, the spitting image of Hillary's law partner, bothers me. I miss the little brown ones already!" ■



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*(The "Watershed"...cont. from P.1)*
pragmatic, and regrouped around Ronald Reagan, riding to a seeming victory in 1980. Increasingly, the conservative movement was based on only one principle: anti-Communism, plus a subsidiary principle: strengthening and aggrandizing the State of Israel, as well as the personality cult around Ronald Reagan. With the fading away of Reagan, and the collapse of Communism and the Cold War, what principles were left? It is no wonder, as Bill Bennett observed on a post-election *Crossfire*, that "the conservative movement ran out of steam." For those of us nurtured in the pre-Buckley Old Right, the idea of the right wing "running out of steam" would have been incomprehensible. Isn't the political edifice carved out since the New Deal still intact? Our half-century, nay century and a half, of repeal and abolition of statism still lie ahead, almost none of it accomplished. But of course the Old Right was founded on a program of rolling back the Leviathan State to nineteenth-century levels, a far more far-reaching and revolutionary objective than simply keeping the Soviet Union at bay.

The conservative movement fittingly died in an orgy of self-immolation, committing treason to the last vestige of its principles or allies. No group deserves its fate more. Through the length and breadth of the conservative movement, especially its Washington leadership, Official Conservatives and their neo-conservative buddies either openly came out for Clinton, or kept their Clintonian bias quasi-private, thinly veiling it by levying potshots at President Bush even after the convention, and damning Bush while keeping strangely mum about the Arkansas governor.

Here are some of the arguments used by conservative leaders in the terrible fall of '92 for their move from Bush to Clinton:

a. *Clinton "isn't so bad"; "we can work with him."* The song of the slimy opportunist everywhere and in all times. Trying to be Talleyrand, trying to keep on top, keeping the jobs and influence and contracts flowing, regardless of regime. Well, I've got news for you, buddies; I can't say I knew Talleyrand personally or that he was a friend of mine, but I can assure you this: You ain't no Talleyrand. You're dealing with clever sharks, hungry after twelve years out of the executive branch. You guys are going nowhere. No one trusts traitors, even the guys you sold out to. Bad cess to all of you—you certainly deserve it.

b. *Clinton will be so bad he will discredit the Democrats and lead to our triumph in four years.* (An argument directly contradictory to (a), though often advanced by *the very same people.*) This is an example of "the worse the better" argument allegedly advanced by Lenin. But again I've got news for you: Lenin was too smart to make such an argument. I find it particularly irritating that my own name has been invoked as a theorist of "the worse the better" and that therefore this is supposed to be a long-standing "Rothbardian" strategy. Please guys: allow me the courtesy of knowing my own views better than you do.

In the first place, this doctrine is almost always untrue. In most cases, *the worse the worse.* The government gets worse, things are bad, but the public gets inured to these measures, they can't identify the cause-and-effect relations anyway, and so things steadily get worse. How come that the terrible deeds of the Progressive Era, the Wilson Administration, the New Deal, etc. have not already provoked any backlash reaction? How come things just *keep getting worse*? What makes you bozos think that four years of Clinton will be any different? Most likely, people will be inured to more statism under Clinton, so that we will have four more years to roll back, and less enthusiasm for doing so.

Also, remember this: the major argument that persuaded classical liberals, at the turn of the century, to advocate the income tax, went as follows: Now, taxes are high, because, since they are in the form of indirect, excise taxation, people can't see them. But income taxes will be direct and visible, and therefore the people will make sure that income tax rates will be very low. Hah! You know what happened to that one! The result has been higher, crippling income taxes, *plus* higher excise and other indirect taxes. Lew Rockwell reports that, twenty years ago, he had an argument with a conservative-libertarian colleague over the New York City public school system, the colleague claiming



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that it's *good* that the public schools are getting worse, since then the people will abandon them and turn completely to private schooling. Of course, the schools have only gotten *much worse* since.

The worse the better is therefore nonsense as strategy; it's also immoral, if anyone still cares about *that*. Advocating more evil tends to discredit, and rightly so, the guy doing the advocating, plus it tars his ideas with the same brush of immorality. And for what benefit?

The actual "Leninist" doctrine does not in any sense *advocate* worse times. What it says is that the existing system ("capitalism": for Lenin, "statism and Social Democracy" for myself) will inevitably lead to various grave crises—economic, social, or whatever—and that our movement should warn people of these inevitable crises and be prepared to remind the public of our prescience when the crises develop. But it's not at all that we *advocate* such crises; on the contrary, our task is to warn people of the crises being brought about by the statist system we despise. Evidently, this distinction is too subtle for a number of people who call themselves "Rothbardians", but it is an important one nevertheless.

It is true that the Soviet Union, at long last, was destroyed on the rock of its own "inner contradictions"; in other words, in the Soviet Union, things got so bad for so long, that everyone was willing to dump the regime. But is this what our worse-the-better theorists really want: to make things as bad as the Soviet Union, to have seventy years of unremitting horror, of starvation, mass murder, genocide, and Gulags, so that things will then get better? Do they really have the gall to advocate such a strategy?

Furthermore, the Democrats successfully ran against Herbert Hoover for two or three decades. Even though Roosevelt did not succeed in bringing us out of the depression, blaming it all on Hoover proved to have tremendous mileage well into the post-war boom. Does anyone doubt that the Democrats, fortified by their near-absolute control of the media, will be able to run, for decades, regardless of what happens, against the dread specter of the "decade of greed" under Ronald Reagan?

The behavior of the conservative leadership has been truly bizarre in 1992. First, they slammed down on Pat Buchanan, accusing him of undercutting and betraying the President. Then, after the Houston convention, when Pat took the time-honored and honorable course of uniting with the winner against the greater danger, the conservatives oddly turned tail, and started denouncing Bush for the same reasons, and even more heatedly, than Pat had done, and continued to pursue this course through Election Day. How can we explain such seemingly irrational behavior? Only in terms of an hidden agenda.

Consider (a) the conservatives hated Pat's attempt to rally genuine conservatism into a movement to Take Back America; and (b) once Pat was safely out of the way, they could mouth the same language (attacking betrayal of the no-new-tax pledge, etc.) but only because they yearned to bring Bush down and elect the supposed enemy Clinton. The only way to explain such an attitude is to conclude that these Official Conservative leaders wanted above all to bury genuine conservatism, and to promote the election of Clinton. Which makes them duplicitous traitors to their own supposed cause. Why? Either to jump on the bandwagon of the winner, to curry jobs and favors and power, and/or because they remain throughout at the beck and call of their neocon masters.

One thing we at *RRR* can assure our readers: the new regime, the new "change agent," will enjoy no "honeymoon" from us; in contrast to other conservative outfits, we pledge unremitting hostility to Clintonian Democracy in all its pomp and works, and in every facet of its being.

The self-immolation and death of the conservative movement accomplished one good thing: it cleared the decks. We must start from scratch, start from under the rubble, discarding the old conservative baggage, and build a new and mighty movement, a new Old Right, dedicated to rolling back the Leviathan State, and to Taking Back every aspect of America, its politics, its economy, its culture, from Clintonian Social Democracy. Since the Official Conservatives and neocons have left the field, have displayed their turncoat colors, we must build a movement without them, and make sure



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that, as our movement begins to succeed, that they not be allowed to crawl their way back in. The watchword must be: Never Again!

### Did Bush Throw the Election?

Here I must advance the hypothesis, the fascinating possibility, that Bush deliberately threw the election. This possibility must not be ruled immediately out of court merely because "conspiracy" analysis is not fashionable.

If Bush did not throw the election, why did he systematically retreat, and apologize for, every single effective line of action during his campaign? Why, when he attacked Clinton, did he retreat the next day after the corrupt liberal media expressed their phony outrage? Why did Bush not only repudiate the heroic Floyd Brown, Mr. Negative Campaign, who was the source of the famous Willie Horton ad in 1988, but also threaten legal action against Brown's attempt to get the Gennifer Flower tapes before the public? Why was Bush almost as apoplectic about Floyd Brown, who was trying to get him elected, as was Ron Brown and the Clinton campaign?

Why was Bush, allegedly a gut fighter in campaigning, so strangely passive most of the time, and in the debates?

Why, after suddenly becoming determined and getting his act together after the third debate and coming up to a dead heat by the final weekend, why did Bush suddenly lose it, become frenetic, and call his opponents "bozos" and Al Gore "Ozone Man"? Did he feel the race was getting too close?

**"George," David begins, "You are going to lose this election."**

Why did he repudiate the family values theme after it was drawing blood, and even had the gall—through his campaign officials—to blame Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson for the rotten state of his own campaign?

The easy answer, of course, is that Bush is a wimp without convictions, and therefore ready to bend with every tide. Certainly, that's a plausible response. But what clinched the conspiracy view for me was an unremarked but important event on October 16. That day, an Op-Ed article was written for the *New York Times* endorsing Clinton. It was a terrible article, badly written and lacking any content, simply saying, in effect, "I trust Bill Clinton to lead us through the next four years." The only remarkable point about the article, and clearly the sole reason it was published, was the name of its author: David Rockefeller, Jr., head of Rockefeller Financial Services.

In other words: David Jr. was signaling to one and all, including the President, that, for the first time since 1964, the Rockefeller World Empire (RWE) was openly endorsing a Democrat. Usually, in every election, the RWE has been content to exert control over both sides, and leave it at that, sticking with their nominal Republicanism. Matters must be serious when the RWE has to openly signal its support for the Democrats.

That's when I first thought of my "conspiracy hypothesis"; before that, I just thought that Bush was being his usual inept self. Consider this possible scenario: George Bush enters the palatial office of David Rockefeller, Senior, the Godfather, *capo di tutti capi* of the Rockefeller World Empire.

"Sit down, George," David says in the gravelly voice made famous by Marlon Brando as Don Corleone.

"George," David begins, "let me tell you something: You are going to lose this election."

"But Godfather," protests George, "haven't I been a good and faithful servant of the Family?"

"Yes, you have, George," Rockefeller assures him, "But conditions have changed. Our multicultural friends demand another Leap Forward. So you're going to lose, but George, it's important that you lose with dignity, with honor. Nothing negative against Clinton. We don't want to spoil his Administration."



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"George, I can assure you," Rockefeller tells the shaken Bush, "if you lose with dignity, your children will prosper, your grandchildren will prosper. If *not*...," Rockefeller makes a cutting gesture across his throat.

All right: if this scenario is untrue, answer me this: *Why* was George Bush so darned *happy* on Election Night? Why were *we* depressed, but he, the ostensible loser, happy? The answer that he was "relieved" that the whole thing was over doesn't account for his joy. How about: relief that he hadn't blown the deal and actually *won* the election?

### Four Years, Ahhrgghh!

Election Night was, indeed, true misery: total loss across the board, made particularly piquant by the spectacle of *all three* candidates having a grand old time while we sat moping in front of the TV. There was, of course, the entire Clinton and Gore entourage boogying across the stage, Clinton's endless victory talk, continuing smooching between Willie and Hillary, and through it all the strains of left-egalitarian, post-millennial pietist Christian hymns being sung by a black choir. Then, cut to Dallas, where little jug-ears and Margot lived it up, shouted, and danced, to the cheers of the enraptured throng of mindless Perotvians.

What were *they* so happy about? After all, "Just-call-me Ross, you're the boss" got nowhere close to attaining the presidency. And, finally, George and Barbara beaming with happiness. It was all too much to bear. Sure, George: you're going off to Kennebunkport, and Jim Baker is going to Wyoming, but the rest of us are going to be stuck with four years of an unholy mess.

Which brings me to the esthetic horror of contemplating Four Years of this insufferable turkey, this smirking, prancing, perpetually smiling, hoarse-voiced, Arkansas-accented, implacable drone gabbling out his neo-liberal platitudes. My problem is that, after less than a year of exposure to Slick Willie, I can't stand him: I can't stand his voice, his face and image, and I can't stand the media's loving recitation of His Greatness. Any of this comes on, and I start yelling back at the screen.

I thought I was in bad shape when I found that a friend of mine, a young Canadian scholar, is so incensed at any sight or sound of Slick Willie, or any news about him, that he not only shouts, but also hurls books and other objects at the TV screen. I haven't reached that point yet. Also, my friend's situation is far worse, since he has conceived an equally fiery hatred toward the Toronto Blue Jays, who, to my friend's horror, marched to victory in the World Series.

**Four Years of this insufferable turkey, this smirking, prancing, perpetually smiling, hoarse-voiced, Arkansas-accented, implacable drone.**

### The "Year of the Woman" Myth

Continuing our election analysis, let us put to rest one of the great, phony myths of this election: that 1992 was slated to be the Year of the Woman. In particular, Women, observing the horrifying martyrdom of "Professor" Anita Hill on TV, took up arms to make sure that never again will a "male" Senate inflict such barbarity on Women. Talk about media faking of reality!

After the actual TV hearings, most people, even most women, were convinced that Hill was a malicious liar, a woman "sco'ned," in the words of Senator Heflin. Given a year of assiduous mythmaking, and most of the people are now buying the leftist martyrdom line. Note, too, the brazen inconsistency of feminist doctrine. On the one hand, they want to be "treated equally with men" in politics or in the rest of what used to be a "man's world." On the other hand, let the male senators treat Hill with just ordinary Senatorial asperity toward a witness, and shrieks and sobs go up to the very Heavens: Oooh, you big bad *men*, you! In fact, the Senators treated Hill with abject tip-toeing deference and the supposedly Satanic Specter was just ordinarily tough toward La Hill.

Well, if Women were rising up everywhere to establish their



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Year and avenge the martyred Professor Hill, then surely Senator Specter would be defeated. And yet, he unaccountably triumphed over the Chief Woman Lynn Yeakel, the would-be avenging angel! Across the board, eleven women ran for the U.S. Senate; of these five won (Boxer, Feinstein, Murray, Braun, and Mikulski), but six lost (Yeakel, Geri Rothman-Serot, Gloria O'Dell, Claire Sargent, Jean Lloyd-Jones, and Charlene Haar). Then, if we want to throw in the governor's races, three women ran for governor (Arnesen, Leonard, Bradley), but all three *lost*. Year of the Woman? Not hardly.

So: if it wasn't the Year of the Woman, what kind of year was it?

Oddly enough, like most other years, this was The Year of the Incumbent! What? In a year when Incumbents were supposed to be dropping like flies, when the masses were rising up angry against the Ins, and especially against Congress, and everyone demanded Change? That's right.

In these female races for Senate, for example, in almost all cases, the winner was either the incumbent or someone of the same party running for the *seat* of an incumbent who had either retired or lost in the primary. Barbara Mikulski was reelected; Barbara Boxer was running for the seat of the retiring Alan Cranston; Patti Murray, the gnome in "tennis shoes," was running for the seat of a retiring fellow-Democrat Brock Adams; and Carol Braun was running for the seat of the incumbent she had beaten in the Democrat primary, Alan Dixon.

Of the females who lost their Senate contests, every one of them ran against an incumbent. Similarly, the three women who lost for governor ran against incumbents. Once again, incumbents almost all triumphed, in this as in most previous years. And in the case of Carol Braun, she was able to defeat the incumbent in the primary, by squeezing in past the mutual negative campaigning of the overconfident Dixon and other, better-known opponents. Braun's triumph in the primary was far more a fluke than a vindication of the honor of American, or Negro, Womanhood.

In fact, in the entire panoply of Senate races, only two or three incumbents, or incumbents' seats, were defeated in November. One was the weak candidate, the liberal California Republican John Seymour. He had never been elected but had been appointed to the post by the unpopular liberal Republican governor Pete Wilson. The only straightforward defeat of a previously elected incumbent was the toppling of Senator Robert Kasten, liberal Republican from Wisconsin, by the clownish Russell Feingold, who claimed endorsements from the dead Elvis Presley.

The only other incumbent in doubt is left-liberal Georgia Senator Wyche Fowler, who got 49% of the vote as against 48% for quasi-libertarian Republican challenger, Paul Coverdell. Georgia is the only state in the country with the excellent provision that failure to gain more than 50% of a senatorial vote requires a runoff. This provision for majority rule has idiotically been denounced by the legal and political Establishment as "racist"—simply because the majority white population of that or any state might decide not to vote for a black minority candidate. But doesn't the very meaning of "democracy," which these people claim to revere, rest on the concept of majority rule?

At any rate, the remaining 3% of the Georgia vote (70,000 votes), were earned by Jim Hudson, of the Libertarian Party. Hudson, displaying remarkable maturity and good sense for a Libertarian, promptly threw his support to Coverdell for the runoff, so a Coverdell upset is now possible. We can, however, expect the newly triumphant Clinton machine to do everything in its power to vindicate and reconfirm the Clinton "New South" of left-liberalism with a Southern accent. (Late scoup: Coverdell won despite Slick Willie's efforts. Hurray!)

### The Libertarian Party, 1971-1992, RIP

If the 1992 election in effect put an end to the conservative movement, it also wrote *finis* to the Libertarian Party, which had proudly called itself "America's Leading Third Party." Oh, we can expect that the purblind losers and scam artists who constitute the remains of the LP will continue to shuffle through some kind of existence; after all, the once mighty Prohibition Party still exists somewhere, and even still nominates presidential candidates. But for all intents and purposes, the Prohibition Party is dead. The same is now true for the Libertarian Party.



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Consider: in the LP's first national campaign, in 1976, Virginia attorney Roger Lea MacBride was on the ballot in 35 states, and obtained 171,818 votes, for a percentage of 0.22% of the total vote. Four years later, Kansas oil billionaire David Koch ran for vice-president and was able to pour $2 million into his own campaign, to get on all 51 state ballots (50 states plus District of Columbia), and get some commercials on nationwide TV. Under these unusually favorable circumstances, the ticket of Los Angeles ARCO attorney Ed Clark and David Koch amassed 920,929 votes across the country, amounting to almost 1.1% of total votes.

**The result was catastrophic: Marrou obtained only 281,805 votes, amounting to only 0.27% of the total vote.**

Four years later, without the Kochian infusion of funds, California attorney David Bergland ran for president, was on the ballot in 40 states, and amassed 225,169 votes, or 0.25% of the national total. In 1988, former Texas Republican Congressman Ron Paul ran for President and brought to the LP his own longtime supporters. In that race, LP presidential figures rose to 432,116, or 0.47% of the total vote.

The 1992 race was a fascinating test for the LP. With Ron Paul gone, the LP was back down to its hard-core supporters. On the other hand, the LP managed, as in 1980, to get on all 51 ballots, and it was able to use this accomplishment to vault its ticket into unprecedented national publicity. MeMe King, a longtime LP operative and Marrou staffer, claimed correctly that the Marrou ticket had gotten more national publicity than all other LP slates put together: included were favorable appearances on the Larry King TV and radio shows, two McNeil-Lehrer appearances, coverage by C-SPAN and CNN, plugs in the William Safire, Steve Chapman, and other columns, continous pumping by California's *Orange County Register*, a glowing account of travel with Marrou on the front page of the *New York Times*, and a public relations puff piece about Andre and the woman he lives with (said to be the future fifth Mrs. Marrou) in *People* magazine. Who could hope for better?

Unfortunately, Andre was only embarrassed by Alan Lindsay's guerrilla campaign of spreading the truth about Marrou very early in the campaign; by the middle of the campaign, Lindsay had moved to Tennessee and was out of the action. A damning article exposing Marrou's peccadilloes had been scheduled for *Human Events* magazine, but never ran; wittingly or not, the Marrou campaign had managed to circumvent such an article by taking out a full-page ad in the magazine.

So Marrou had a clear field, 51 ballots, and maximum favorable publicity. The result was catastrophic: Marrou obtained only 281,805 votes, amounting to only 0.27% of the total vote. Almost two decades of effort, and the Libertarian Party is still mired in its traditional 0.2-0.3% of the total vote, still in the same 200-300,000 total. One suspects these are the very same 200,000 Americans as in 1976, except all about sixteen years older.

The feeble excuse of the LP operatives is that, if only Ross Perot had not run, had not tapped into the tremendous anti-Washington fervor this year, they would have done great. Look guys, there's always *some* excuse: you're beginning to sound like a Jackie Mason routine. In 1980, if only John Anderson hadn't run; in 1984, if only the two party race was not so cut-and-dried; in 1988, if only the race hadn't been so close. Look: something will *always* turn up; conditions will never be ideal. If there's no anti-Washington sentiment, you complain; but if there's a lot, then *someone* is bound to tap into it. God did not give the Libertarian Party an exclusive third-party franchise. Wake up guys, and give up.

Now that everyone knows what "libertarian" is, and what it stands for, now that our ideas are out there, there is nothing left for the Party to do. Let's face it: we're *not* coming to power in the foreseeable future.



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Years ago, in the Trotskyist movement, two of the leading members formed a Facing Reality caucus. It's high time the LP did the same, rethought their lives, gave up the old nonsense, and shifted to something—anything—more constructive.

There is still no chance of the LP making it, on any level. The likeliest spot for a victory was Tamara Clark, running for State Senator from Las Vegas, in a two-way race against Democrat incumbent Ray Shaffer. Clark, who has built up a broad following from years of anti-tax activities was actually endorsed by the main Vegas paper, the *Review-Journal*, and was given a good chance by the pundits. Yet she only got 44% of the vote. Run Republican next time, Tamara, and you'll win.

### Libertarian Republicans

The libertarian Republican strategy did not exactly cover itself with glory this year, but at least it escaped the catastrophe suffered by the LP. On the Congressional level, three promising California candidates—all touted as favorites to win—were defeated handily. Tom McClintock got only 39% in San Fernando Valley District 24, Dick Rutan only 44% in West San Bernardino County; and H. L. Bill Richardson only got 40% in the northern Central Valley. On the other hand, they did much better in state level races. There are now two dyed-in-the wool libertarian Republican State legislators: longtime LP youth activist and free-market think tanker, Gregory Kaza, one of the top young paleolibertarians in the country, is now a Republican State Rep in Michigan; and veteran LP activist, formerly a high official in the Montana and Alaska LPs, Duncan Scott, is now a Republican State Senator from northern New Mexico. In their young lives as Republicans, these libertarians have already accomplished far more politically than anyone else as Libertarians (whose highest rankings have been State Representative).

On the other hand, we must mourn the losses on the higher levels, particularly those of two articulate Misesians. Young Colorado paleolibertarian businessman Terry Considine, the father of Term Limits, lost to the clownish pseudo-Indian Ben Nighthorse Campbell. I resent the p.c. label that has now been attached to Campbell: "Native American." *I* am a native American, dammit, as are most of the readers of *RRR*. I refuse to surrender this noble label to some one better termed "Injun." And he is only a fractional Red Man, deciding to cash in on Injun victimology, having himself dubbed "Nighthorse" in a tribal ritual in 1983.

**I am a native American, dammit, I refuse to surrender this noble label to some one better termed "Injun."**

Particularly instructive is the loss of Professor Henry Butler, free-market economist, to the Democrat feminist Leslie Byrne in the suburban Washington House district of Virginia. Instructive because, *even though* he is pro-choice, Butler was not spared the wrath of the increasingly aggressive pro-abortionist forces. The standard propaganda of the pro-abortionists is that such a label is a smear, since they are *not* pro-abortion, but pro-choice. Butler was attacked because he is opposed to federal funding for abortions, that is, he is opposed to forcing those who believe abortion to be murder to pay for someone else's murder. Hence, Butler was attacked as being "85% pro-life."

In short, the pro-abortion feminists are not in favor of freedom to choose at all. They are explicitly against the freedom of *taxpayers* to choose not to fund abortions; and they are also increasingly opposed to the freedom of *physicians* to choose not to commit abortions. More and more, the pro-abortionist forces are attempting to "educate" (i.e. brainwash) obstetricians and gynecologists into participating in abortions. Compulsory abortions for physicians will not be far behind. In short, only anti-child *women*, not taxpayers or physicians, are to be free to choose. What pro-abortionists really favor is not choice, but free abortion on demand, with taxpayers and physicians forced to do the abortionists' bidding.



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## "Landslide" Bill?

Leading newspapers and pundits have happily referred to the Clinton victory as a "landslide" bestowing a "mandate" upon the victor. Oh, really? Well, let's see. In 1992, 189 million Americans were eligible to vote: that is, people over 18, who were not convicted felons. Of these, 55.0% voted, the highest turnout rate in twenty years. Of these 104 million who cast their ballots, 43%, or 44.7 million people, voted for Slick Willie for president. This means that 23.6% of voting-age Americans voted for Clinton: less than one-quarter of our fellow-Americans. *That's* a "landslide"?

One of the most truly repellent pronouncements of that dismal Election Night was made by my least favorite pollster-pundit, Bill Schneider, left-liberal whose position at the American Enterprise Institute fools many people into thinking of him as a conservative. On CNN, Schneider burbled happily that the Electoral College is so wonderful because winning politicians are given "the appearance of a mandate," or landslide. In short: the Electoral College enables the winning president to sucker the public into thinking that they have given him a sweeping mandate.

Hold on to this truth: 24% ain't no mandate!

## What To Do Now?

Left-wing anarchist Joe Hill, before being executed for murder, urged his followers: "Don't mourn, organize." It's good advice for any movement suffering a loss, especially since none of us can truly mourn the defeat of George Bush in the first place. Bush deserved to lose; it's just that *we* didn't deserve to have Clinton win. We have a long row to hoe; we must organize a movement to Take Back every aspect of America: its politics, its economy, its culture, from triumphant Fabian-Clintonian Social Democracy.

In a sense, even though our path is now more difficult, our task is at least far clearer, made more evident by the collapse of the conservative movement and of the Libertarian Party. We must build a new movement from under the rubble of the old. But because of this rubble, we have an opportunity to start from scratch, to build a brand new movement on far firmer and stauncher principles: rolling back the Leviathan State, and restoring the Old Republic in all of its aspects and facets. We must build a frankly "reactionary" movement dedicated to "turning the clock back": to restoring the principles and institutions and culture on which America's liberty and prosperity and genuine greatness were founded. That means we must set our face from the very beginning against opportunism and "pragmatism," against forming a Loyal Opposition to the Enemy, and against succumbing to the siren song of "caring" and "compassion" that undermine passionate concern for liberty and justice.

As a political vehicle, the Democratic Party is patently hopeless. In Las Vegas, an old-fashioned "Jeffersonian Democrat" ran for the State House against a liberal Republican. As a Jeffersonian Democrat myself, I was delighted to see this quixotic gesture; but the gentleman, Knight Allen, had no money from the puzzled Democrats and he was beaten by two-to-one. The old "conservative Southern Democrat" party is also gone with the wind. The Democrat Party must be written off as irredeemable.

That leaves the Republican Party as the political vehicle that must be Taken Back before any other political goal can be achieved. Here, the mass of conservatives who still think of Jack Kemp or Bill Bennett as beloved leaders must be awakened, and fast, to the true statist nature of these neo-con Pied Pipers. Paleocons must also have the maturity to use third-party vehicles as clubs with which to hammer both Kempian and Bush-Baker country club Republicans into continuing defeat. Here, perhaps Howie Phillips's Taxpayer Party network will be able to play an important role.

In forging a new paleoconservative movement, two tasks in particular must be accomplished: Developing the principles of a new, revitalized "reactionary" movement; and instructing the right-wing masses, on the basis of such principles, who the good guys and the bad guys are, and how they can be distinguished. Both of these cognate tasks are intellectual ones, goals which must be achieved before any further attempts at mass organizing. Organizing without first deciding on principles and



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people can only end in another, and more rapid, disaster. ■

## "Fiscally Conservative, Socially Tolerant"

### by M.N.R.

"Fiscally conservative, socially tolerant" has become the favorite mantra of Left-libertarianism, from Cato Institute types to libertarian Republicans. But what exactly does this slogan mean and where does it come from? If you can excuse the expression, let us proceed to deconstruct this text.

Libertarian politics acquired modern form when a determined isolationist group took control of the Libertarian Party and platform at its New York convention of 1975, and nominated the LP's first nationwide candidate for President in 1976, Virginia attorney Roger Lea MacBride. The victorious LPers capsulized their platform, then and since, in three parts: "laissez-faire in economics (economic freedom), civil liberties (personal freedom), and non-interventionist in foreign policy." In short; a determined opposition to government interference in the economy, in personal life, and in international affairs.

While LP candidates have generally been true to this triadic principle, libertarians have generally displayed no interest whatever in foreign affairs, and so it was not surprising when LP founder Dave Nolan shortened libertarian doctrine into a two-axis grid, with economic freedom on one axis and personal freedom on the other. The original Nolan chart had the Good Guys, the libertarians, in the upper-right hand diagonal corner, and the Bad Guys, "authoritarians" in personal and economic life, in the lower-left diagonal corner.

Nolan tried unsuccessfully to popularize an LP logo as an arrow going upward and to the right, symbolizing a thrust toward liberty on both fronts, but critics pointed out that the logo had something of the look, either of an obscure sex cult, or of some discredited ultra-right-wing political group in the *Mittel-Europa* of the 1930s.

Bad ideas never completely die, however, and the Nolan Chart was later resurrected by Marshall Fritz of the Advocates for Self-Government, and popularized in Fritz's chart and "World's Shortest Political Quiz." Fritz essentially moved the Nolan chart 45 degrees to the left, so that the Good Guys came out at the top of a diamond, with the Bad Guys on the abject bottom.

**Bad ideas never completely die, however, and the Nolan Chart was later resurrected.**

Even so, the current slogan is a huge comedown, even from the Nolan or Fritznik chart. For what, after all, is "fiscally conservative"? "Economic freedom" or "laissez-faire" is admirably clear; it means getting government off the back of the private economy: deregulation, taxes nearly down to zero, massive privatization, the gold standard, the works. But "fiscally conservative" is a horse of a very different color. It simply means: a desire to cut the *rate of increase* of the government budget to a respectable amount. Notice that absence of government intervention, or tax slashing, or privatization, has all but gone by the board; the slogan only calls for a certain modesty in swelling government spending or the ranks of the bureaucracy. Weak tea indeed.

And, after all, in this age of enormous, $400 billion, annual deficits, *everyone* has to be a little bit fiscally conservative, even Bill Clinton. This is hardly a test of anyone, much less of a staunch conservative/libertarian.

But "socially tolerant" is even more defective as a criterion for a Good Guy politician. In fact, it is a far cry from civil libertarian. For "personal freedom" or "civil libertarian" is a meaningful, let alone worthy, political position. But what kind of meaningful political stance is "socially tolerant"? Tolerance, indeed, is not a political category at all, but only a *personal* quality in social interaction.

To describe a political person as "socially tolerant" is what



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philosophers might call a "category mistake": the mixing up of two very different categories, the personal and the political, trying to add up oranges and horses. It's like saying that Politician X is "fiscally conservative" (or "laissez-faire in economics") *and* "socially smiling." *Or* to say that Politician is "fiscally conservative" and "socially grumpy." Meaningless twaddle.

One reason that civil liberties has dropped off the Libertarian map is because the old Cold War verities are gone with the wind. Before the end of the Cold War, mapping conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats, was simple. Conservatives (Republicans) were "good an economics," but "bad on civil liberties." On the other hand, liberals (Democrats) were the reverse: "good on civil liberties," but "statist in economics."

That picture made sense before the late 1980s, but is totally obsolete now. Now that there is no longer a Communist threat, rightists are no longer a menace to civil liberties. In contrast to left scare tactics, there is *no one* on the Right who has any desire for the state to break down bedroom doors and arrest anyone. No one has the desire to bust down doors or enforce sodomy laws. (Abortion is a different story, since murder is alleged to be involved.) In fact, the grave threat to civil liberties now come overwhelmingly from the Left, from the sniffers after "hate crimes" and "hate thought," from the ferocious enforcers of Political Correctness, from those who would make ogling a sex crime virtually equivalent to rape.

**It is the Right, or sections thereof, that is the repository of all the political virtues.**

In the current world and in the foreseeable future, then, it is the Right, or sections thereof, that is the repository of all the political virtues: economic freedom, civil liberties, and even non-intervention in foreign affairs.

In considering the current slogan, then, it should be clear that "fiscally conservative" is a weasel phrase that means very little, and is but a pale, measly shadow of its ancestor, laissez-faire. But at least it is a political category.

In far worse shape is the loving phrase "socially tolerant," which can have no meaning at all. Since it is really meaningless, it must be one of these modern "code phrases" that become close to gibberish to those of us who lack the code book. The best I can figure, "socially tolerant" is a code phrase for those who would use government to interfere in our lives and enforce "nondiscrimination" and affirmative action quotas in every walk of life: on behalf of blacks, Hispanics, the handicapped, women, male homosexuals, lesbians, and whatever other group they care to designate as officially "oppressed."

Let's retire the phrase altogether, and even return to the grand old capsulization that prevailed from MacBride to Ron Paul. Let's retire "fiscally conservative" pronto. And as for the other half of the slogan, whenever I hear the word "tolerant," I reach for my revolver. ■

## Fluoridation Revisited

### by M.N.R.

Yes, I confess: I'm a veteran anti-fluoridationist, thereby—not for the first time—risking placing myself in the camp of "right-wing kooks and fanatics." It has always been a bit of mystery to me why left-environmentalists, who shriek in horror at a bit of Alar on apples, who cry "cancer!" even more absurdly than the boy cried "Wolf!", who hate every chemical additive known to man, still cast their benign approval upon fluoride, a highly toxic and probably carcinogenic substance. And not only let fluoride emissions off the hook, but endorse uncritically the massive and continuing dumping of fluoride into the nation's water supply.

First: the generalized case for and against fluoridation of water. The case for is almost incredibly



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thin, boiling down to the alleged fact of substantial reductions in dental cavities in kids aged five-nine. *Period. There are no claimed benefits for anyone older than nine*! For *this* the entire adult population of a fluoridated area must be subjected to mass medication!

The case against, even apart from the specific evils of fluoride, is powerful and overwhelming.

(1) Compulsory mass medication is medically evil, as well as socialistic. It is starkly clear that one key to any medication is *control of the dose*; different people, at different stages of risk, need individual dosages tailored to their needs. And yet with water compulsorily fluoridated, the dose applies to everyone, and is necessarily proportionate to the amount of water one drinks.

What is the medical justification for a guy who drinks ten glasses of water a day receiving ten times the fluorine dose of a guy who drinks only one glass? The whole process is monstrous as well as idiotic.

(2) Adults, in fact children over nine, get no benefits from their compulsory medication, yet they imbibe fluorides proportionately to their water intake.

(3) Studies have shown that while kids five-nine may have their cavities reduced by fluoridation, said kids of ages nine-12 have *more* cavities, so that after 12 the cavity benefits disappear. So that, *at best*, the question boils down to: are we to subject ourselves to the possible dangers of fluoridation *solely* to save dentists the irritation of dealing with squirming kids aged five to nine?

(4) Any parents who want to give their kids the dubious benefits of fluoridation can do so *individually*: by giving their kids fluoride pills, with doses regulated instead of haphazardly proportionate to the kid's thirst; and/or, as we all know, they can brush their teeth with fluoride-added toothpaste. How about freedom of individual choice?

(5) Let us not omit the long-suffering taxpayer, who has to pay for the hundreds of thousands of tons of fluorides poured into the nation's socialized water supply every year. The days of private water companies, once flourishing in the U.S., are long gone, although the market, in recent years, has popped up in the form of increasingly popular private bottled water even though far more expensive than socialized free water.

Nothing loony or kooky about any of these arguments, is there? So much for the general case pro and con fluoridation. When we get to the specific ills of fluoridation, the case against becomes even more overpowering, as well as grisly.

During the 1940s and 50s, when the successful push for fluoridation was underway, the pro-forces touted the controlled experiment of Newburgh and Kingston, two neighboring small cities in upstate New York, with much the same demographics. Newburgh had been fluoridated and Kingston had not, and the powerful pro-fluoridation Establishment trumpeted the fact that ten years later, dental cavities in kids five-nine in Newburgh were considerably lower than in Kingston (originally, the rates of every disease had been about the same in the two places.) OK, but the antis raised the disquieting fact that, after ten years, both the cancer and the heart disease rates were now significantly higher in Newburgh. How did the Establishment treat this criticism? By dismissing it as *irrelevant*, as kooky scare tactics. Oh?

Why were these and later problems and charges ignored and overridden, and why the rush to judgment to inflict fluoridation on America? Who was behind this drive, and how did the opponents acquire the "right-wing kook" image?

## The Drive For Fluoridation

The official drive began abruptly just before the end of World War II, pushed by the U.S. Public Health Service, then in the Treasury Department. In 1945, the federal government selected two Michigan cities to conduct an official "15-year" study; one city, Grand Rapids, was fluoridated, a control city was left unfluoridated. [I am indebted to a recent revisionist article on fluoridation by the medical writer Joel Griffiths, in the left-wing muckraking journal *Covert Action Information Bulletin*: "Fluoride; Commie Plot or Capitalist Ploy?" (Fall 1992), pp. 26-28, 63-66]. Yet, before five years were up, the government killed its own "scientific study," by fluoridating the water in the control city in Michigan. Why? Under the excuse that its action was caused by "popular demand"



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for fluoridation; as we shall see, the "popular demand" was generated by the government and the Establishment itself. Indeed, as early as 1946, under the federal campaign, six American cities fluoridated their water, and 87 more joined the bandwagon by 1950.

A key figure in the successful drive for fluoridation was Oscar R. Ewing, who was appointed by President Truman in 1947 as head of the Federal Security Agency, which encompassed the Public Health Service (PHS), and which later blossomed into our beloved Cabinet office of Health Education and Welfare. One reason for the Left's backing of fluoridation—in addition to its being socialized medicine and mass medication, for them a good in itself—was that Ewing was a certified Truman Fair Dealer and leftist, and avowed proponent of socialized medicine, a high official in the then-powerful Americans for Democratic Action, the nation's central organization of "anti-Communist liberals" (read: Social Democrats or Mensheviks.) Ewing mobilized not only the respectable Left but also the Establishment Center. The powerful drive for compulsory fluoridation was spearheaded by the PHS, which soon mobilized the nation's establishment organizations of dentists and physicians.

The mobilization, the national clamor for fluoridation, and the stamping of opponents with the right-wing kook image, was all generated by the public relations man hired by Oscar Ewing to direct the drive. For Ewing hired none other than Edward L. Bernays, the man with the dubious honor of being called the "father of public relations." Bernays, the nephew of Sigmund Freud, was called "The Original Spin Doctor" in an admiring article in the *Washington Post* on the occasion of the old manipulator's 100th birthday in late 1991. The fact that right- wing groups such as the John Birch Society correctly called fluoridation "creeping socialism" and blamed Soviet Communism as the source of the fluoridation campaign (no, not *Bolsheviks*, guys: but a Menshevik-State Capitalist alliance, see below) was used by the Bernaysians to discredit all the opposition.

As a retrospective scientific article pointed out about the fluoridation movement, one of its widely distributed dossiers listed opponents of fluoridation "in alphabetical order reputable scientists, convicted felons, food faddists, scientific organizations, and the Ku Klux Klan." [Bette Hileman, "Fluoridation of Water," *Chemical and Engineering News*, 66 (August 1, 1988), p.37; quoted in Griffiths, p. 63]. In his 1928 book *Propaganda*, Bernays laid bare the devices he would use: Speaking of the "mechanism which controls the public mind," which people like himself could manipulate, Bernays added that "Those who manipulate the unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country... our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of..." And the process of manipulating leaders of groups, "either with or without their conscious cooperation," will "automatically influence" the members of such groups.

In describing his practices as PR man for Beech-Nut Bacon, Bernays tells how he would suggest to physicians to say publicly that "it is wholesome to eat bacon." For, Bernays added, he "knows as a mathematical certainty that large numbers of persons will follow the advice of their doctors because he (the PR man) understands the psychological relationship of dependence of men on their physicians." [Edward L. Bernays, *Propaganda* (New York: Liveright, 1928), pp. 9, 18, 49, 53. Quoted in Griffiths, p. 63]. Add "dentists" to the equation, and substitute "fluoride" for "bacon," and we have the essence of the Bernays propaganda campaign.

Before the Bernays campaign, fluoride was largely known in the public mind as the chief ingredient of bug and rat poison; after the campaign, it was widely hailed as a safe provider of healthy teeth and gleaming smiles.

After the 1950s, it was all mopping up--the fluoridation forces had triumphed, and two-thirds of the nation's reservoirs were fluoridated. There are still benighted areas of the country left, however (California is less than 16% fluoridated) and the goal of the federal government and its PHS remains as "universal fluoridation."

## Doubts Cumulate

Despite the blitzkrieg victory,



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however, doubts have surfaced and gathered in the scientific community. Fluoride is a non-biodegradable substance, which, in people, accumulates in teeth and bone—perhaps strengthening kiddies' teeth; but what about human bones? Two crucial bone problems of fluorides—brittleness and cancer—began to appear in studies, only to be systematically blocked by governmental agencies. As early as 1956, a federal study found nearly twice as many premalignant bone defects in young males in Newbergh as in unfluoridated Kingston; but this finding was quickly dismissed as "spurious."

Oddly enough, despite the 1956 study and carcinogenic evidence popping up since the 1940s, the federal government never conducted its own beloved animal carcinogenicity test on fluorides. Finally, in 1975, biochemist John Yiamouyiannis and Dean Berk, a retired official of the federal government's own National Cancer Institute (NCI), presented a paper before the annual meeting of the American Society of Biological Chemists. The paper reported a 5 to 10% increase in total cancer rates in those U.S. cities which had fluoridated their water. The findings were disputed, but triggered congressional hearings two years later, where the government revealed to shocked Congressmen that it had never tested fluoride for cancer. Congress ordered the NCI to conduct such tests.

Talk about foot-dragging! Incredibly, it took the NCI twelve years to finish its tests, finding "equivocal evidence" that fluoride caused bone cancer in male rats. Under further direction of Congress, the NCI studied cancer trends in the U.S., and found nationwide evidence of "a rising rate of bone and joint cancer at all ages," especially in youth, in counties that had fluoridated their water, but no such rise was seen in "non-fluoridated" counties.

In more detailed studies, for areas of Washington state and Iowa, NCI found that from the 1970s to the 1980s bone cancer for males under 20 had increased by 70% in the fluoridated areas of these states, but had *decreased* by 4% in the non-fluoridated areas. Sounds pretty conclusive to me, but the NCI set some fancy statisticians to work on the data, to conclude that these findings, too, were "spurious." Dispute over this report drove the federal government to one of its favorite ploys in virtually every area: the allegedly expert, bipartisan, "value-free" commission.

**"A rising rate of bone and joint cancer at all ages," especially in youth, in counties that had flouridated their water.**

The government had already done the commission bit in 1983, when disturbing studies on fluoridation drove our old friend the PHS to form a commission of "world-class experts" to review safety data on fluorides in water. Interestingly, the panel found to its grave concern that most of the alleged evidence of fluoride's safety scarcely existed. The 1983 panel recommended caution on fluoridation, especially for fluoride exposure for children. Interestingly, the panel strongly recommended that the fluoride content of drinking water be no greater than two parts per million for children up to nine, because of worries about the fluoride effect on children's skeletons, and potential heart damage.

The chairman of the panel, Jay R. Shapiro of the National Institute of Health, warned the members, however, that the PHS might "modify" the findings, since "the report deals with sensitive political issues." Sure enough: when Surgeon General Everett Koop released the official report a month later, the federal government had thrown out the panel's most important conclusions and recommendations, without consulting the panel. Indeed, the panel never received copies of the final, doctored, version. The government's alterations were all in a pro-fluoride direction, claiming that there was no "scientific documentation" of any problems at fluoride levels below 8 parts per million.



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In addition to the bone cancer studies for the late 1980s, evidence is piling up that fluorides lead to bone fractures. In the past two years, no less than eight epidemiological studies have indicated that fluoridation has increased the rate of bone fractures in males and females of all ages. Indeed, since 1957, the bone fracture rate among male youth has increased sharply in the United States, and the U.S. hip fracture rate is now the highest in the world. In fact, a study in the traditionally pro-fluoride *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)*, August 12, 1992, found that even "low levels of fluoride may increase the risk of hip fracture in the elderly." JAMA concluded that "it is now appropriate to revisit the issue of water fluoridation."

**Even coming into question is the long-sacred idea that fluoridated water at least lowers cavities in children five to nine.**

Clearly, it was high time for another federal commission. During 1990-91, a new commission, chaired by veteran PHS official and long-time pro-fluoridationist Frank E. Young, predictably concluded that "no evidence" was found associating fluoride and cancer. On bone fractures, the commission blandly stated that "further studies are required." But no further studies or soul-searching were needed for its conclusion: "The U.S. Public Health Service should continue to support optimal fluoridation of drinking water." Presumably, they did not conclude that "optimal" meant zero.

Despite the Young whitewash, doubts are piling up even within the federal government. James Huff, a director of the U.S. National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, concluded in 1992 that animals, in the government's study, developed cancer, especially bone cancer, from being given fluoride—and there was nothing "equivocal" about his conclusion.

Various scientists for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) have turned anti-fluoridation, toxicologist William Marcus warning that fluoride causes not just cancer, but also bone fractures, arthritis, and other disease. Marcus mentions, too, that an unreleased study by the New Jersey Health Department (a state where only 15% of the population is fluoridated) shows that the bone cancer rate among young males is no less than six times higher in fluoridated than in non-fluoridated areas.

Even coming into question is the long-sacred idea that fluoridated water at least lowers cavities in children five to nine. Various top pro-fluoridatonists highly touted for their expertise were suddenly and bitterly condemned when further study led them to the conclusion that the dental benefits are really negligible. Thus, in the early 1980s, New Zealand's most prominent pro-fluoridationist was the country's top dental officer, Dr. John Colquhoun.

As chairman of the Fluoridation Promotion Committee, Colquhoun decided to gather statistics to show doubters the great merits of fluoridation. To his shock, he found that the percentage of children free of dental decay was *higher* in the non-fluoridated part than in the fluoridated part of New Zealand. The national health department refused to allow Colquhoun to publish these findings, and kicked him out as dental director. Similarly, a top pro-fluoridationist in British Columbia, Canada, Richard G. Foulkes, concluded that fluoridation is not only dangerous, but that it is not even effective in reducing tooth decay. Foulkes was denounced by former colleagues as a propagandist "promoting the quackery of anti-fluoridationists".

## Why the Fluoridation Drive?

Since the case for compulsory fluoridation is so flimsy, and the case against so overwhelming, the final step is to ask: why? Why did the Public Health Service get involved in the first place? How did this thing get started? Here we must keep our eye on the pivotal role of Oscar R. Ewing, for Ewing was far more than just a Social Democrat Fair Dealer.

Fluoride has long been



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recognized as one of the most toxic elements found in the earth's crust. Fluorides are by-products of many industrial processes, being emitted in the air and water, and probably the major source of this byproduct is the aluminum industry. By the 1920s and 1930s, fluorine was increasingly being subject to lawsuits and regulations. In particular, by 1938 the important, relatively new aluminum industry was being placed on a wartime footing. What to do if its major byproduct is a dangerous poison?

The time had come for damage control; even better, to reverse the public image of this menacing substance. The Public Health Service, remember, was under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department, and Treasury Secretary all during the 1920s and until 1931 was none other than billionaire Andrew J. Mellon, founder and head of the powerful Mellon interests, "Mr. Pittsburgh," and founder and virtual ruler of the Aluminum Corporation of America (ALCOA), the dominant firm in the aluminum industry.

In 1931, the PHS sent a dentist named H. Trendley Dean to the West to study the effect of concentrations of naturally fluoridated water on people's teeth. Dean found that towns high in natural fluoride seemed to have fewer cavities. This news galvanized various Mellon scientists into action. In parcular, the Mellon Institute, ALCOA's research lab in Pittsburgh, sponsored a study in which biochemist Gerald J. Cox fluoridated some lab rats, decided that cavities in those rats had been reduced, and immediately concluded that "the case (that fluoride reduces cavities) should be regarded as proved." Instant science!

The following year, 1939, Cox, the ALCOA scientist working for a company beset by fluoride damage claims, made the first public proposal for mandatory fluoridation of water. Cox proceeded to stump the county urging fluoridation. Meanwhile, other ALCOA-funded scientists trumpeted the alleged safety of fluorides, in particular the Kettering Laboratory of the University of Cincinanti.

During World War II, damage claims for fluoride emissions piled up as expected, in proportion to the great expansion of aluminum production during the war. But attention from these claims was diverted when, just before the end of the war, the PHS began to push hard for compulsory fluoridation of water. Thus the drive for compulsory fluoridation of water accomplished two goals in one shot: it transformed the image of fluorine from a curse to a blessing that will strengthen every kid's teeth, and it provided a steady and substantial monetary demand for fluorides to dump annually into the nation's water.

**Thus the drive for compulsory fluoridation of water transformed the image of fluorine from a curse to a blessing.**

One interesting footnote to this story is that whereas fluorine in naturally fluoridated water comes in the form of *calcium* fluoride, the substance dumped into every locality is instead *sodium* fluoride. The Establishment defense that "fluoride is fluoride" becomes unconvincing when we consider two points: (a) calcium is notoriously good for bones and teeth, so the anti-cavity effect in naturally fluoridated water might well be due to the calcium and not the fluorine; and (b) sodium fluoride happens to be the major by-product of the manufacture of aluminum.

Which brings us to Oscar R. Ewing. Ewing arrived in Washington in 1946, shortly after the initial PHS push began, arriving there as longtime counsel, now chief counsel, for ALCOA, making what was then an astronomical legal fee of $750,000 a year (something like $7,000,000 a year in present dollars.) A year later, Ewing took charge of the Federal Security Agency, which included the PHS, and waged the successful national drive for water fluoridation. After a few years, having succeeded in his campaign, Ewing stepped down from public service, and returned to private life, including his chief counselship of the Aluminum Corporation of America.



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There is an instructive lesson in this little saga, a lesson how and why the Welfare State came to America. It came as an alliance of three major forces: ideological Social Democrats, ambitious technocratic bureaucrats, and Big Businessmen seeking privileges from the State. In the fluoridation saga, we might call the whole process "ALCOA-socialism." The Welfare State redounds to the welfare not of most of society but of these particular venal and exploitative groups. ■

# The Age of Clinton

## By Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

No member of the Right should get teary-eyed over George Bush's impending exile, but we ought to be terrified of his replacement. There hasn't been this much celebrating on the Left since the Bolshevik revolution, and for good reason.

Although he only got 43% of the vote, Plurality Willie faces no effective opposition. The Democratic Congress will shout Hosanna to his New Covenant, and the national media will yell Amen.

Fifty-seven percent of us may not want to join the First Church of Bill, President, but we can still expect to be grabbed and subjected to total immersion.

Here's how: higher taxes on income, energy, cigarettes, liquor, wine, and beer. We will also get a value-added tax, a form of national sales tax popular with European socialists. The exemption from inheritance taxes will be lowered by two-thirds, making all but the smallest estates subject to heavy assessment. The luxury tax will be reimposed. And churches will be taxed, while gifts to them and all other charities will be taxable.

We will get increased spending on bank bailouts; the cities; AFDC; food stamps; government "jobs"; and minority set-asides.

The Americans with Disabilities Act will be enforced to the hilt, destroying many small businesses now on the brink of bankruptcy. Gays will be added to the anti-discrimination laws, further socializing the economy. An armed civil rights police will be created.

The Justice Department's anti-trust division will be revivified, cracking down on successful firms that try to merge or expand their market share. The computer industry will be regulated, freezing innovation. The airline and trucking industries will be re-regulated. Unemployment benefits will be lengthened, further subsidizing non-work. And the minimum wage will be indexed to inflation, permanently shutting out the poorest and most marginal workers.

We will have fully socialized medicine and therefore rationed care, except for abortions, which will be funded without limit. Price controls will be placed on prescription drugs. And we'll have hymns to euthanasia, and why terminal patients as well as the old and infirm should do the government a favor and kill themselves.

A national curriculum and federalized teacher selection and student testing will abolish what little local autonomy is left. National sex and environmental "enrichment" will be imposed on the smallest school, but chastity and capitalism will not be considered enriching. Private schools will come under federal regulations, and Head Start, a failed baby-sitting service for welfare mothers, will receive a 300% increase.

Anti-human, pro-bug environmental controls will be ratcheted up every few months, and we will have federal recycling (tote those cans, flatten 'em with a hammer, separate your papers, or you're in the slammer). We'll also get higher automobile fuel-economy standards (and therefore smaller, lighter, and more dangerous cars), more public transportation, restricted non-HOV commuting, and outlawed styrofoam (psst, buddy, want a cheap, strong, insulating coffee cup?).

We'll see prohibitions on logging, federal permits for new factories, and bans on production to fight non-existent global warming and ozone depletion. (The earth isn't getting warmer, and ozone, which is scattered throughout the upper atmosphere, isn't even a "layer," let alone in danger.)

The feds will wage a war on middle-class gun ownership, instead of trying to make Crips and Bloods physical descriptions. Hate speech and hate writing will be outlawed, as in Canada. Private clubs will no longer be private, with the feds



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determining their admission policies. And teenagers will be pressured, and then drafted, into "national service."

There will be an explosion in "childrens' rights" litigation, with parental authority replaced with bureaucratic power, thanks to an ACLU-Hillary coalition. Mandatory "family leave" will harm businesses and lower the value of married women in the marketplace.

Feminists will resuscitate the Equal Rights Amendment (Phyllis Schlafly, call your office). Marriage, divorce, alimony, and child custody laws will be federalized, and same-sex marriage laws will be mandated.

In military policy, our troops will troop off to Bosnia, Somalia, and Russia—for starters. We will send truckloads of cash to Russia, Israel, the UN, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. Foreign trade will be hampered, especially imports of autos and computers. Haiti will move to Florida, and Mexico and Central America to Texas and California.

Puerto Rico and New Columbia (formerly the District of Columbia) will be states 51 and 52, adding four permanent Democratic seats to the U.S. Senate. Welcome, for example, Senator Marion Barry. Somehow, you belong in the Capitol of a Clintonized America. ■

## Clinton and the Imperial Presidency

### by L.H.R., Jr.

For 12 years, Beltway conservatives have worshipped at the throne of the omnipotent executive, which is about to kick them in the teeth. If it weren't for the consequences to the country, one could take pleasure in the forthcoming dental work.

**For 12 years, Beltway conservatives have worshipped at the throne of the omnipotent executive.**

The President, conservatives have claimed, is autonomous in foreign affairs. He should have near-total control of international trade, and be able to tell American businesses where they can and cannot invest.

The President, said conservatives, should be able to wage guerrilla wars against foreign governments he dislikes, whether in Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, or Mozambique. And Congress has no business intervening, for that would be "micro-management" of foreign policy.

The President should be able to sell American military equipment, in exchange for hostages, to regimes he has barred from getting American military equipment. And he should be able to divert the proceeds to his other private wars. The President, in fact, should be able to begin, conduct, and end wars without a word of protest from Congress, the branch of government constitutionally entrusted with this power. And if an independent prosecutor looked into clear violations of the law, he wasted $42 million of taxpayers' money and ruined the reputations of great public servants. (That the executive branch spends $42 million every *ten seconds* is, of course, irrelevant.)

On the domestic front, conservatives said the President could enact a line-item veto and cut the capital gains tax by mere fiat. And he should be able appoint executive idolizers to the judiciary without Congressional "interference."

As the Presidency bloated before our eyes, books and articles poured out of conservative think tanks denouncing the "Imperial Congress." Elected legislative officials were ridiculed and harangued. Their staffs—infinitesimal when compared to the executive's—were called swollen, and the franking privilege was treated like the crime of the century.

The result has been the Caesarism that anti-New Dealers like John T. Flynn, Garet Garrett, and Frank Chodorov warned against. But during the eighties, that truly conservative tradition was thrown out for political expediency. And now, thanks in part to the conservatives, Clinton will inherit an



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office that has been invested with far more power, pomp, and majesty than the Constitution grants it.

In his first days in office, Clinton will issue a series of executive orders. For starters, he will mandate that the military install gay affirmative action; that taxpayers pay for abortion counseling; and that instant abortion pills be imported from France. With these three actions, he will have killed much of the social agenda of the last decade.

Can he do this without the consent of Congress? Just ask the *Wall Street Journal*, which has spent the past 12 years showing him how. Ask the Reagan-Bush political appointees at the Department of Justice, who told anyone willing to listen that an "energetic" executive was the American way.

President Clinton might even raise our taxes by executive order, citing the supply-side lawyers who drew up the brief Bush was supposed to use to lower them.

Based on the precedents of the Reagan-Bush years, Clinton can send American troops to Bosnia to attack Serbians. He can intervene in Russia to prop up Yeltsin. He can police South Africa. And he can invade Latin American countries, kidnap their leaders, and bring them here for trial. There is no need to ask Bob Dole and the 99 other senators what they think.

Clinton can appoint Cuomo, Tribe, and Wright-Edelman to the Supreme Court, and Republicans will be told to shut up about it, as were Democrats during the Bork and Thomas hearings. The President is anointed to make these appointments, and the Senate has no role but to bow down before him.

Clinton will, of course, be as wrong in exercising autonomous power as Bush and Reagan before him. To understand why, conservatives should dust off their copies of Arthur Schlesinger's *The Imperial Presidency*. Not that liberals are innocents in the presidential power racket. While Schlesinger's book—written as a polemic against Nixon's abuse of power—is excellent, he looks benignly on JFK's and FDR's dictatorial reigns.

Clintonites will undoubtedly enjoy the rough justice of hammering conservatives with the tools of their own creation, but liberty and property will never be safe—no matter what party holds the presidency—until we restore constitutional balance to the government. That means a powerful legislative branch, and a President whose duty is to enforce Congressional laws, and not play dictator. The Clinton years will, of course, only make matters worse. Thanks, conservatives, we needed that. ■

## A Real-World Economist

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

Here's to the Nobel committee, which this year gave its economics prize to Gary S. Becker, a University of Chicago economist who thinks that economics is about human choices in the real world.

Most economists, including almost all those in government, think of economics as a virtual branch of the physical sciences, as they construct mechanistic models of the way the world "should" work. Installed at the Council of Economic Advisers, the Federal Reserve, the Congressional Budget Office, and regulatory agencies all over D.C., these economists seek to make the real world conform with their unrealistic vision, with the disastrous results we see all around us.

To most economists, the government is the potter, and the rest of us are the clay. But read the works of Gary Becker, and you get a much different view.

Becker is a "microeconomist," which is another way of saying he thinks that individual market choices matter. He studies people who think, respond to incentives, watch price signals, and seek to economize. For decades this was an all-too-rare approach.

In his book *Human Capital* (1964), Becker showed that education and training are every bit as important as other kinds of investment in the economy. But his most enduring contribution is *A Treatise on the Family* (1980).

Becker shows that the traditional family makes economic as well as moral sense. In a healthy, advanced economy—absent government intervention—mothers tend to stay home to raise the children and fathers go out to work, thanks to specialization in the division of labor. Perverse government policies have undermined the



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traditional family in recent years, discouraging decisions to get married, to stay married, to have children, and to build an estate to hand on to them.

Becker's book was not the final word on the subject, but he made sure that economic analysis would not be neglected in the scholarship of family breakdown. As Alan Carlson of the pro-family Rockford Institute puts it, "Becker created an authentic home economics to replace the sentimentalism of the past. His insights have reinforced the importance of traditional family structure to social stability, economic growth, and the health of the next generation."

**By increasing its costs through new regulations, will Hillary make motherhood less attractive?**

As we contemplate the sort of feminist legislation that Hillary Clinton would impose on us, Becker teaches us to ask: how will increased government intervention alter incentives? By increasing its costs through new regulations, will Hillary make motherhood less attractive? Will people have a weaker incentive to create families under the Clinton administration?

The story is no different with crime. When punishments are reduced, as they have been for decades, the cost of criminal conduct goes down. That means some people will engage in crime at an even higher rate.

The prevalence of crime is therefore not entirely due to cultural decline; government's unwillingness to make the costs of crime decisively outweigh the benefits encourages the iniquitous among us.

Becker has even argued that a kind of market exists in Washington politics. What most people think of as corrupt influence peddling, Becker sees as trade between people who want to retain political power and those who want its benefits. Together they create a marketplace for other people's money.

This means that regulations are not the result of public servants disinterestedly seeking to cure "market failures." Instead, they stem from battles among lobbyists seeking special favors from Washington. That's why one question to ask about any proposed legislation is: who's lobbying for it and why?

For the same reason, it sometimes seems impossible to repeal regulations, taxes, and trade restrictions. Those who lobbied for them get massive benefits, while the social costs are dispersed among the whole population. Few people have the time or interest to oppose legislation that costs them only marginally.

So, if we are ever to clean up the network of interest groups that dominant democratic politics, we will have to make fundamental institutional changes. No election can do the job apart from a long-run strategy.

Becker is usually thought of as a libertarian, and he does favor deregulation, privatization, and drug legalization. But he should be considered a *paleo*-libertarian, since he also advocates intermediating institutions like the traditional family, as well as immigration controls so long as the transfer state is handing out benefits at the expense of the citizenry. He also defends freedom of association as against quotas, affirmation action, and anti-discrimination laws.

Whether we look at economics or more broadly at public policy, it is clear that the Nobel Prize committee has made a salutary choice. Skoal! ■

## Thanks, George

### by L.H.R., Jr.

Although I voted for George Bush, and doubly wish he'd won now, I can't forget that he in effect smoothed the way for Willie Blythe (his original name), his feminist wife, his eco-nut veep, and his murdering mother (with Governor Bill manuevering to get her off) by expanding the machinery of big government.

For example, Bush gave us the Americans With Disabilities Act, which affects every firm in the country except the tiniest, ordering employers to pretend that we're all physically and mentally equal, and to spend to make it so. A small, money-losing company may have to



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widen its corridors, install elevators, and redo its bathrooms. Another firm can be forced to hire a blind lawyer, and a second employee to read to him. Discrimination against those who have trouble learning, reasoning, and remembering is now illegal, as is discrimination against former (and "former") crack addicts.

Another Bush bill—the Civil Rights Act of 1991—is the quota bill he claimed it wasn't. Companies now have to make their workforces at all levels "representative of the community," or prove to the EEOC that they aren't racist. No hiring standard with a racially "disparate impact" can be used, from screening out ex-cons to requiring a high school diploma.

Should mugging someone because he's Cambodian be a more serious crime than mugging him because he has a gold watch? Thanks to the Bush administration's "hate crimes" legislation, it is, against our entire Anglo-Saxon legal tradition.

Bush also took the side of speeding drunk and felon Rodney King over the policemen who had to arrest him. Before he had time to learn the facts, Bush claimed on national television to be "sickened," thereby injecting himself into a matter properly left to the jury.

When the jury made its correct decision, Bush ordered the Justice Department to bring the four impoverished LAPD cops up on double-jeopardy civil rights charges (as the criminal King prepared to collect a million dollars from the taxpayers of Los Angeles). Liberal reporters at the *American Lawyer*, who watched the whole trial on Court TV, agreed with the not-all white jury, but by then the damage had been done. (By the way, what exactly would have been wrong with an "all-white" jury?)

When South Central Angelenos started their murder, mugging, looting, and burning spree, Bush waffled. In one speech, he called for law and order, and in another, he implied that lack of welfare was to blame. But not to worry, he would speed along more "aid to the cities," i.e., payoffs to the rioters. And his Housing secretary Jack Kemp was even more sensitive, sounding just like Jesse Jackson and Maxine Waters. When Bush was politically forced to deploy federal troops, he did not empower them to protect property; that was left to armed residents.

**Bush also took the side of speeding drunk and felon Rodney King over the policemen.**

After the riots, Bush instructed his banking regulators to go easy on bad loans made to minority enterprises. This was consonant with his stepped up enforcement of the Community Reinvestment Act. The CRA orders banks to meet de facto racial quotas in mortgage lending, and Bush's 1989 S&L bailout bill ordered the Federal Reserve to do annual studies of the racial gap in lending. The result is an annual Hate-White-Bankers Day on the release of the Fed study, although it ignores credit ratings, job histories, assets, and other very relevant factors in loan-making. The Fed's finding that blacks and Hispanics get fewer loans than whites is highly publicized, but not its note that Asians get *more* loans than whites.

Bush's "National Goals for Education" was the most centralist and millennarian plan since John Dewey. The federal government is to make sure that "*all children* will start school ready to learn"; that "the high school graduation rate will increase to *at least 90%*"; and that "*every adult American* will be literate and possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy" (emphasis added).

Since the central government has constitutional responsibility only for the public schools in Washington, D.C., let's see those shaped up, and then we can think about putting the Department of Education in charge of Alabama and Wyoming.

The Bush administration also made Head Start its model of a workable welfare program, dramatically expanding its budget and promoting it on national television. But the dozens of studies on Head Start—from Westinghouse Learning Corp in 1969 to CRS Synthesis in



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1985—have shown no educationally meaningful differences in those who attend and those who do not.

The labor policies of the Bush administration were left-liberal across the board—increasing the minimum wage, extending idleness-inducing unemployment benefits, empowering the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—but his crackdown on "child labor" was especially bothersome. At the behest of trade unions, his Labor secretary set up a sting operation and fined businesses $100,000 for employing 15-year old kids for more than three hours a day or 18 hours a week. What was wrong with work as versus hanging around, and why the government rather than parents should be making decisions about what children do with their time, we were never told.

It may be that the Bush administration just didn't understand the price system. Before the Gulf War, oil prices went up, as they should have, in anticipation of lower supplies. But the White House threatened price controls, and the press secretary complained about "gouging." Oil companies were forced to lower their prices and take a loss.

In the past, consumers and producers determined what went on product labels. But under Bush's Health and Human Services secretary, more than 20,000 food items had to have expensive new nutritional labeling. Now Americans could see what Big Nurse thought was important for them.

Robert Mapplethorpe, Annie Sprinkle, and Andres Serrano made history as some of the tax-funded avant-garde "artists" who hate bourgeois morality. They flowered during the Bush years, and he protected their socialist playground, the National Endowment for the Arts, from abolition or even reform. Today, the NEA is up to its old tricks again.

Several natural disasters took place under Bush (as versus the artificial disaster of his administration), including Hurricanes Hugo and Andrew. His response was always the same: send in the bureaucrats from the Federal Emergency Management Agency to bungle everything, and spend billions on local governments.

There was also the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound. Even though Exxon—as versus some oiled birds—was the victim, losing billions of dollars, the Bush administration pursued the company as if the spill were deliberate. Exxon cannot be allowed to get away with an "environmental crime," said Bush's Attorney General. But as with all spills, the oil disappeared, since it is, if you will excuse the expression, natural, organic, and biodegradable. Meanwhile, post-spill fish catches in Prince William Sound set records.

John Pozsgai—an emigrant from communist Hungary—bought a former junkyard and cleaned it up, covering it with clean topsoil. Because cattails grew on it, his dry land was "wetlands" to the feds, and for improving it, he was jailed and fined $200,000. The U.S. Attorney said he wanted to "send a message to the private landowners, corporations, and developers of this country about President Bush's wetlands policy." Pozsgai got the message. "I thought this was a free country," he said.

Bush also pushed research about non-existent global warming. The same environmentalists who claimed 15 years ago that we faced a new ice age now claim we are endangered by global warming. Yet there is *no* evidence of global warming, only computer projections about the year 2,010 from the same climatologists who can't tell us whether it will rain next Thursday. And how, by the way, does the Environmental President know the optimum temperature of the earth? Warming would lengthen growing seasons and make the earth more livable.

Finally, Bush violated a campaign promise and banned the importation of most semiautomatic rifles. He also promised to support the infamous Brady bill, which requires a waiting period similar to the California law that prevented homeowners in Los Angeles from buying guns to protect themselves. The banned rifles are stigmatized as "assault weapons," but the only real assault is on the Second Amendment.

Thanks, George, we needed all that. ■

## PC Watch

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

### Mel

We were created for a purpose, actor Mel Gibson recently told a shocked *Redbook* interviewer.



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"The afterlife. To get there. This life is just a testing ground. It's not a popular view, I know. People criticize me and say that I'm some sort of mindless robot who's using religion as a crutch. Well, I'm not mindless, but I am using it as a crutch to get through life." Gibson, a traditional Catholic and advocate of the old Mass, calls the modern church "just a circus now."

**Gibson, a traditional Catholic, calls the modern church "just a circus now."**

### Too Late

Julie M. Buchanan, a Milwaukee labor lawyer, says that the Americans With Disabilities Act protects "the chronically late" and "those with bad body odor" from discrimination.

### The Speedster

Rodney King, who violated his parole (for armed robbery) by drunk driving at more than 100 mph, has been given back his driver's license. "It will be a thrill for me to drive again," says King.

### Make Ya Jump

The newest fashion trend among D.C. youth are "gun shirts," with giant, metallic reproductions of popular weapons on the front. A typical shirt, emblazoned with the Mac 11 and bullet holes, reads: "Mac Dad'll make ya jump jump," a line from a popular rap song. KenKen Robinson, a dealer on Martin Luther King, Jr., Avenue, S.E., notes, "They are a status thing. They are what makes my register ring."

### Condom-Wear

An even newer trend among chic D.C. youth are "safe-sex shirts," with clear plastic pockets full of condoms and slogans such as "Cover for the Brother."

### Shame

The Mormon Church is apparently conducting mass excommunicaitons of members thought to be too right-wing. Signs of sin include having supported the presidential candidacy of Mormon Bo Gritz of the Populist Party, being a member of the John Birch Society, storing too much emergency food, and quoting the early speeches of the ailing, 93-year-old Ezra Taft Benson. Benson is president of the church and a founding member of the Birch Society. But Elder Malcom Jepsen, a high church official, warns that "these speeches were given at a different time and circumstances than the present."

### Rip

Sinead O'Connor, the bald rocker who tore up a photo of the Pope on *Saturday Night Live*, suffered little condemnation. But just imagine, says Paul Gottfried, if she had torn up a picture of Martin Luther King. ■

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